[For additional information on the thārfiqth (pl. thārfīqth) or dharfiqth, a form of clan community composed of extended families (jājghū) and including the families of all the sons of an original founding ancestor, see Categories 613, 614, and 596.]

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596 the essential features of the *jājghū* as an extended family group but its importanoe in the total social structure is far overshadowed by a larger and more durable unit called *thārfīqth* (pl. *thārfīqīn*).

618 This grouping, a form of clan-community, is an amplification of the *jājghū* by inclusion of the families of *all* the sons of the original founder-ancestor, not just of one of them (which constitutes the *jājghū*). This ancestor is apt to be at least three or four ascending generations removed from the speaker, if not more; he is the speaker's furthest remembereb ascendant in the male line and the man from whom the *thārfīqth* takes its name. Within the *thārfīqth*, the various *ijujgha* form its componet parts. Thus, in the *thārfīqth* of Iḥaddūshen or Aith Ḥaddūsh in the village of of Aith Mūsā u 'Amar (Aith 'Alī), the component *ijūjghā* are the families of 'Alī, Sa'īd, Muḥammādi, Muḥand and 'Abdallāh, all sons of Ḥaddūsh, the common ancestor of all; in the *thārfīqth* of Aith Sa'īd in the same village the *ijūjgha* are the families of Ḥmid, 'Aisā and 'Abdallāh. A *thārfīqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living member; it may number some 200 living people, distributed throught ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *ḥauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf*, «head») are the elders of each *thārfīqth*. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfīqīn* in one village to be related to each other.

582 [618] [596] Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* and endogamy within the *thārfīqth*. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfīqīn* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf*), which will be given extensive treatment furthe: on. Weddings usually take place when the boy is sixteen to seventeen years old and the girl fourteen to fifteen.

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The *thārfiqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no soroal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlīs are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jāris, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives **awar** (properly **azwar**), or «veins», and **ighs**, or «bones», corresponding to **jajghu** and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word **ighs** refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

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618 Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmen-
596 tal activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith ʿAbdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith ʿAmmarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfiqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity
578 for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfiqth*
682 did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the
618 local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to
596 appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfiqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi ʿAlūsh, Aith Yūsuf u ʿAlī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

618 Each *thārfiqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors.
628 Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

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the greater the number of powerful allies it had to have in order to survive. Periods of peace and quiet were very infrequent events; in the old days every house had a watch tower, forming a second story, in which the owner had a commanding view of the whole countryside. He could thus spot an unwary enemy and drop him dead in his tracks with the greatest of ease and pleasure. The poverty and infertility of the soil was a factor which contributed heavily to an atmosphere of eternal suspicion and mistrust of one's neighbor. Violence was so common that, analyzing it from an anthropological standpoint, Montagne remarks with considerable justification that the concept of the *thārfīqth* obscured and often even obliterated those of the larger political units above it (8). The acceptance of the *dīyath* or blood money by the murdered man's *thārfīqth* was a rare phenomenon; most families, particularly those of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, the political division which has the greatest fighting reputation of all, preferred to keep the feud going. I have been informed that in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh feuding assumed such extreme proportions that, to take one example, the village of Aith Bū Khrif knew *no peace at all* until the Spanish occupation. Another instance on record, cited both by Montagne (9) and Maldonado (10), tells of a feud which started between two *thārfīqīn* of Aith 'Abdallāh, Aith al-Qāsim and Iburāsan; I have personally verified their accounts by conversation with two of the participants.

The shooting began after the murder of a dog which belonged to the guest of the head man of Iburāsan, as the Aith al-Qāsim refused to pay the blood money (50 duros) claimed. Twelve men were killed in combat the first day; each side got its allies and soon the feud spread all through the *farīqas* of Ibunahāren and Aith 'Amar u Ḥmid. In the following years, 40 men died on one side and 62 on the other, in pitched battles alone. This does not take into account the even larger number of those who were shot down in ambush or poisoned with arsenic sold by merchants at Alhucemas. The con-

(8) Montagne, Robert: Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 240.

(9) Montagne, 1930, pp. 239-240.

(10) Maldonado, Eduardo: El Regui, Tetuán 1952, pp. 33-34.

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and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera» (15).

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In the Rīf, up to the advent of ʿAbd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if is customary for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the *thārfiqth* was the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between *thārfiqīn* even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of they day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other *thārfiqīn* in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties, usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the *ṣof* of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or *thārfiqth* the aid of which they desired, and the *faqīh* slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Wuryāghlīs

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are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion *(ʿār)*, and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called *liff*, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the *liff*. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over; but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional *liff* alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith ʿAlī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this

(14) Coon, 1931, p. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 67.

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system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; sescondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfiqth*, the *thārfiqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.